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MUSIC, NATIONALISM AND THE SEARCH FOR MODERNITY IN CHINA, 1911-1949[1]

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The role of regional opera performances in the dissemination of Chinese culture and values to ordinary people, and the Chinese Communists' use of folk songs, dramas, and other traditional art forms in the Jiangxi Soviet are well known among historians of China.[3] Mao Zedong's repeated emphasis on the importance of utilising "national form" (*minzu xingshi* 民族形式) in order to popularise the Communist messages in the Shan-Gan-Ning border region in the 1930s and 1940s, and throughout the country in subsequent years, is also well studied.[4] Less well known, however, are the ways in which urban, middle-class, intellectuals used aspects of Western music to

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[3] See Barbara E. Ward, "Regional Operas and Their Audiences: Evidence for Hong Kong" in David Johnson *et al.* eds., *Popular Culture in Late Imperial China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 161-87; Ellen R. Judd, "Revolutionary Drama and Song in the Jiangxi Soviet", *Modern China*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (1983), pp. 127-60.
[4] Excellent works include: David Holm, *Art and Ideology in Revolutionary China* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); "Hua Guofeng and the Village Drama Movement in the North-West Shanxi Base Area, 1943-45", *The China Quarterly*, 84 (1980), pp. 669-93; Ellen R. Judd "New *Yangge*: The Case of 'A Worthy Sister-in-Law'", *CHINOPERL Papers*, 10 (1981), pp. 167-86; Hung Chang-tai, "The Politics of Songs: Myths and Symbols in the Chinese Communist War Music", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (1996), pp. 901-30; "The Dance of Revolution: Yangge in Beijing in the Early 1950s", *The China Quarterly*, 181 (2005), pp. 82-96; and Alan L. Kagan, "Music and the Hundred Flowers Movement", *The Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 49, No. 4 (1963), pp. 417-30.

their own ends before the founding of the People's Republic in 1949.[5] In this paper, I intend to fill this gap by delineating some of the major musical developments in China in the period from 1911 to 1949. In order to illustrate how Chinese urban intellectuals, regional warlords, communist and nationalist officials, and Christian converts used music to advance their causes, I focus on the important question of the place of music in the process of China's search for modernity, and its role in the construction of a Chinese national identity. My aims are not only to draw attention to a little-researched area, but also to suggest a different way to look at the link between music and China's nation-building project in the context of the Chinese passage to modernity. By drawing upon the history of music teaching in the Republican period and focusing especially on the "national music" (*guoyue* 国乐) debate of the 1920s and 1930s, I also hope to highlight a continuum between republican China and the People's Republic in the rise of musical utilitarianism. In contrast to the almost exclusive focus of previous scholarship on the manipulation of Chinese folk art forms, this paper will be more concerned with the use of Western musical forms.

The Rise of Western Music in China

Before examining Chinese use of Western music in the Republican era, it will be useful to review the history of Western music in China. The earliest presence of Western music in China can be traced back to the seventh century A.D.[6] Prior to the global expansion of Western imperialism in the nineteenth century, however, its scope of diffusion was very limited. It is true that the appearance of Nestorian hymns in the Tang dynasty, Catholic liturgical music in the Mongol interlude, Western keyboard and orchestral instruments in the last years of the Ming dynasty, and music theory during the early days of the Qing dynasty, raised the interest of those who came into contact with them. On the whole, however, the impact of these aspects of Western music on the wider Chinese population was neither widespread nor long-lasting.[7]

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[5] Richard C. Kraus has discussed the issues associated with the Chinese bourgeois class's struggle over Western music but, with the exception of Xian Xinghai, his focus is on personnel and events in the People's Republic. See Kraus, *Pianos and Politics in China: Middle-Class Ambitions and the Struggle over Western Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[6] Fang Hao, *Zhong Xi jiaotong shi* (*History of Exchanges between China and the West*), Vol. 5 (Taibei: Zhonghua wenhua chuban shiyeshe, 1953), p. 127.

[7] For a historical overview of Western music in China prior to the Opium War, see Hong-yu Gong, "Missionaries, Reformers, and the Beginnings of Western Music in Late Imperial China (1839-1911)" (Ph.D. Thesis, Auckland University, 2006), chapter 1; Tao

With the dawn of the nineteenth century, particularly with the treaty settlements emerging from the Opium War (1839-1842) and the Anglo-French Expedition (1856-1860), however, a new chapter in the history of Sino-Western musical interaction began. As in previous centuries, the introduction of Western music at this time was intertwined with the global expansion of Christianity.[8] Yet, unlike the Nestorians, the Franciscan brothers and the Catholic Jesuits; the nineteenth-century missionaries, and Protestants in particular, introduced, among other things, aspects of Western musical culture to a relatively wider Chinese population, in spite of the small number of Protestant converts.[9] The Protestants, like some of the Catholics before them, worked among the Chinese at a grass-roots level. Music, an indispensable part of the Christian ritual, and part and parcel of the Christian educational package, was used as a direct tool to propagate the Christian faith. Together with their Catholic colleagues, they managed to spread Western music to a segment of Chinese society that had been ignored by the Jesuits.[10]

The re-introduction of Western music in the wake of the Opium War, and its diffusion among the Chinese poor, involved a different set of musical idioms and a rapidly changing social milieu. Whereas the music introduced earlier pertained almost exclusively to Catholic liturgy, the repertoire introduced at this time was dominated mainly by Protestant psalmody. Congregational singing added a new dimension to the musical life of the

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Yabing, *Zhong Xi yinyue jiaoliu shigao* (*A Draft History of Musical Intercourse between China and the West*) (Beijing: Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe, 1994), pp. 1-153.

[8] This is not to say that non-Christian Western personnel did not play a role in the introduction of Western music to China. Robert Hart, for example, organised his own band in the late 1880s and, starting from the 1870s, performances of Western music were extensive in Shanghai. But these activities were mainly for the enjoyment of European expatriates, not for the Chinese public, and therefore had limited impact on the wider Chinese population. On Hart's band, see Han Guohuang, "Hede yuedui yanjiu" ("A Study of Robert Hart's Orchestra") in *Han Guohuang yinyue wenji* (*Selected Works on Music by Han Guohuang*), Vol. 1 (Taibei: Yueyun chubanshe, 1990), pp. 5-26. On Western music in Shanghai, see Chun-zen Huang, "Travelling Opera Troupes in Shanghai, 1842-1949" (Ph.D. Thesis, The Catholic University of America, 1997).

[9] Philip West has pointed out the greater role played by "Protestant missions in breaking down the Confucian order and in offering new ideas." See his *Yenching University and Sino-Western Relations, 1916-1952* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 5-6.

[10] It is true that the Jesuits favoured top-down conversion methods, but other Catholics, active for almost 200 years before the advent of the Protestants, were actively engaged in grass-roots activities. See Alan R. Sweeten, *Christianity in Rural China: Conflict and Accommodation in Jiangxi Province 1860-1900* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2001); Robert E. Entenmann, "Clandestine Catholics and the State in Eighteenth-Century Sichuan", *American Asian Review*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1987), pp. 1-45.

Chinese "besides their operas and folksongs."[11] Apart from exposing Chinese Christians to traditional Christian musical styles such as strophic hymn and psalm tunes of either British or American origin, hymn singing also familiarised them with evangelical and gospel hymn tunes in verse-chorus alternation. Moreover, by including music teaching as part of their school curricula, and hymn-singing and instruments as part of their extracurricular activities, the missionaries helped to usher in a new way of teaching music and, therefore, laid the foundation for the future development of music education in China.

Despite the missionary efforts, however, Western music on the whole still failed to attract a large following in China. This failure had as much to do with the inability of Christianity to attract many Chinese converts as with the failure on the part of Chinese to see the relevance of Western music in their struggle for modernity. Because of the hostility towards Christianity by both the Qing government and Chinese gentry-scholar class, and the general indifference shown by the Chinese populace towards the Christian message, Christian teaching by and large failed to gain wide acceptance in all strata of Chinese society.[12] Consequently, Western music, as part of the Christian package, failed to exert a strong appeal to the Chinese before the turn of the twentieth century.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, an increasing number of Chinese reformers, led by a group from the social and cultural elite, began to take an active interest in certain genres of Western music. Like the Christian missionaries, leading late Qing reformers such as Liang Qichao 梁启超 (1873-1929) were especially attracted to mass singing. Convinced that simple and easy-to-memorise mass songs were an ideal vehicle to carry their reform ideals far and wide, they consciously promoted the use of military marches, school and national anthems.[13] Unlike the promoters of Western music of the 1920s and 1930s, late Qing reformers were not particularly

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[11] Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West*: *Society and Culture 1815-1937* (London: Hutchinson, 1979), p. 119. Hymn singing was certainly one of the favourite activities of Chinese women, and missionaries were quick to capitalise on this. "In order to accommodate women's needs," as Kwok Pui-Lan has observed, "missionaries wrote ballads, made up of simple and rhythmic popular expressions, to teach gospel messages." Kwok Pui-Lan. "Chinese Women and Protestant Christianity at the Turn of the Twentieth Century" in Daniel H. Bays ed., *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 202.

[12] The anti-Christian tradition before the mid-nineteenth century has been discussed most thoroughly by Paul A. Cohen. See his *China and Christianity: The Missionary Movement and the Growth of Chinese Antiforeignism, 1860-1870* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1963), pp. 3-60.

[13] For an in-depth study of Chinese reformers and the uses of Western music, see Gong, "Missionaries, Reformers, and the Beginnings of Western Music in Late Imperial China (1839-1911)", pp. 188-248.

concerned with the so-called advanced techniques of Western music as represented by tempered scales, standard notation, functional harmony, contrapuntal and sophisticated orchestral lines—factors identified by Western conservatorium-trained musicians and music educators of the May Fourth era and beyond as being superior to China's indigenous musical traditions.[14] Nor were they overly preoccupied with the notion of creating a new style of music that was uniquely Chinese. Their attention to Western music, like military bands and school songs, arose from their conviction that these forms of Western music were effective tools for the realisation of their political and social aspirations.

The early Chinese attempts at using Western music were not passive. Nor did their learning trajectories follow the same path. While modernisers of Chinese military forces, following the advice of their German advisers, started to incorporate military bands into their armies from the year 1885 onwards, social and political reformers began at roughly the same time to promote Western-style group singing in unison as the ideal tool for China's social and political transformation.[15]

Despite the inspiration that they had initially drawn from the writings of and personal contacts with Protestant missionaries, they turned to Japan for practical guidance. As a cultural intermediary, Japan not only alerted the Chinese reformers to the instrumentality of music in promoting political and social reform, but also showed them how music could be used to address the more urgent issue of nationalism. Unlike the missionaries, whose influence permeated only a small segment of Chinese society, the Japanese were much more successful in exerting an influence on the minds of educated Chinese, and Japan's selective absorption and adaptation of Western learning proved to be much more inspiring to the Chinese as a whole.[16] On a more concrete plane, Japan, at the turn of the twentieth century, trained a relatively large number of Chinese songwriters or arrangers in Western idiom, and showed the Chinese concrete examples of how music could be used to disseminate progressive and nationalist ideologies. Moreover, the employment of Japanese teachers in China's new schools, and the translation of Japanese

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[14] See Xiao Youmei, "Zuijin yiqian nian lai xiyue fazhan zhi xianzhu shishi yu woguo jiuyue bu zhen zhi yuanyin" ("The Apparent Truth of Western Music's Progress in the Last One Thousand Years and the Reasons Why Our Traditional Music Failed to Develop"), *Yinyue zazhi* (*The Journal of Music*), Vol. 1, No. 3 (July 1934), pp. 21-23.

[15] Liu Jingzhi, *Zhongguo xinyinyue shilun* (*A Critical Study of the History of New Music in China*), Vol. 1 (Taibei: Quanyin chubanshe, 1998), pp. 26-39.

[16] The importance of Japan in China's search for modernity in the last years of the Qing dynasty has been well documented. For a small sample, see Wang Xiangrong, *Riben jiaoxi* (*Japanese Teachers in China*) (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1988); Paula Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds: Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895-1905* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898-1912: The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993).

textbooks, further facilitated the spread of Western music in China at the time. Finally, the musical activism of Japanese-trained Chinese pioneers and Japanese teachers in the employ of powerful provincial officials was directly responsible for the phenomenal popularity of Western-style group singing, *xuetang yuege* 学堂乐歌 (school song), in China in the first two decades of the twentieth century.[17]

Cai Yuanpei, Xiao Youmei and the Development of Musical Education

The school song phenomenon of the last decade of the Qing dynasty and the inclusion of singing in the Qing court's decree for primary schools for girls in 1907 were only the first of a series of social and political movements in modern China in which music played a prominent role. In the decade following the establishment of the Republic in January 1912, reformers continued to work hard to highlight the indispensability of music in China's nation- and culture-building projects. Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1868-1940), for example, was the first important Republican official to stress the value of music in the realisation of the Republic's ideals, and as a means for China's transformation from tradition to modernity. In February 1912, shortly after being appointed Minister of Education for the provisional government in Nanjing, Cai wasted no time in including aesthetic education (*meiyu* 美育) as one of the five aims of the new education system he proposed.[18] It was partly in response to his initiative that the Ministry later decreed that singing was to be a compulsory subject for both elementary and middle schools, and that instruction in music theory and musical instruments formed part of the normal school curriculum.[19]

Cai's enthusiastic promotion of music had as much to do with his personal predilections as with his pedagogical conviction.[20] Convinced of the

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[17] On "*xuetang yuege*", see Qian Renkang, *Xuetang yuege kaoyuan* (*In Search of the Origins of the School Songs*) (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue chubanshe, 2001); Han Guohuang, "Qingmo de xuetang yuege" ("The School Songs of the Late Qing") in Han Guohuang, *Zi xi cu dong* (*From West to East*), Vol. 2 (Taipei: Shibao chubanshe, 1981), pp. 9-28. For a recent study in English, see Peter Micic, "School Songs and Modernity in Late Qing and Early Republican China" (Ph.D. Thesis, Monash University, 1999).

[18] Cai Yuanpei, "Duiyu xinjiaoyu zhi yijian" ("My Views on New Education") in Gao Pingshu ed., *Cai Yuanpei quanji* (*The Complete Works of Cai Yuanpei*,), Vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1984), pp. 135-37.

[19] Sun Jinan, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue jiaoyushi jinian* (*A Chronology of Music Education in the History of Modern China: 1840-1989*) (Jinan: Shandong youyi chubanshe, 2000), p. 36.

[20] According to Gao Pingshu, Cai's biographer, Cai developed a keen interest in both Chinese and Western music very early on, and learned to play a number of Chinese instruments. While in Europe in the 1910s, he not only attended concerts frequently but

educational value of music, he was also one of the first leading Chinese social and political reformers to advocate the inclusion of music in modern schools. As early as 1901, he proposed the incorporation of music and other arts subjects into the school curriculum for women's general education.[21] A year later, when he and other members of the Educational Society founded the Patriotic Women's School in Shanghai, he wasted no time in stipulating that singing should be a compulsory component of its core courses. But, differing from other reformers' narrow focus on songs in the dissemination of progressive ideas and the later Chinese Communists' manipulation of folk tunes to suit their political purposes, Cai placed strong emphasis on the artistic and ethical value of music and its imperceptible effect on elevating people's morality. For Cai, music was an integral part of aesthetic education.[22]

Clearly, Cai's musical utilitarianism had its deepest roots in the ethical teaching of Confucius. As far as Cai was concerned, the aim of music education was not so much achieving good mastery of techniques as an overall improvement of one's moral rectitude. He was at pains to point out the transformative effect of music, dance, and visual arts in elevating a person's moral and ethical outlook, and to the general conduciveness of these arts to a person's spiritual well being.[23] Driven by this conviction, Cai resolutely promoted music in China's modern education. In other words, in justifying the place of music in the educational system of the Republic on the grounds of its utilitarian rather than intrinsic values, Cai at once showed his indebtedness to Confucian understanding of music as a means of moral and ethical cultivation and his appreciation of music as an instrument in the creation of a modern nation state.[24]

Cai Yuanpei's promotion of music as a means of moral cultivation and a vehicle for China's transformation from tradition to modernity can also be seen in his active involvement with the Musical Society of Beijing University (Beijing Daxue Yinyue Hui 北京大学音乐会). Initiated in

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also took music-related courses at the University of Leipzig. He even took the trouble to employ a private tutor to teach him the violin and piano. See Gao Pingshu, *Cai Yuanpei nianpu changbian* (*An Extended Chronological Account of Cai Yuanpei*), Vol.1 (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), pp. 219, 264, 365-66, 381.

[21] Cai Yuanpei, "Xuetang jiaoke lun" ("On School Curricula") in Gao Pingshu ed., *Cai Yuanpei quanji*, Vol. 1, p. 151.

[22] William J. Duiker, "The Aesthetics Philosophy of Ts'ai Yuan-pei", *Philosophy East and West,* Vol. 22, No. 4 (1972), pp.385-401.

[23] Cai Yuanpei, "Yi meiyu dai zongjiao shuo" ("On Replacing Religion with Aesthetics"); "Wenhua yundong buyao wangle meiyu" ("Cultural Movement Should Not Forget Aesthetic Education") in Gao Pingshu ed., *Cai Yuanpei quanji*, Vol. 3, pp. 31-34; pp. 361-62.

[24] William J. Duiker, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and the Confucian Heritage", *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1971), pp. 207-26.

August 1916 by a group of students, the society was initially called the Musical Corps of Beijing University (Beijing Daxue Yinyue Tuan 北京大学音乐团). In its early days, it had only two loosely organised divisions devoted, respectively, to the study of Chinese and Western music. Before Cai got involved, the organisers of the society had neither a clear picture of the kind of society they desired, nor any well-thought-out philosophy for the society. Following the fine Chinese literati tradition of "*she*" 社or "*tuan*" 团 (small groups of scholars gather together to engage in a variety of literary or artistic pursuits), they came together regularly to discuss matters relating to music and literature, which were very much in the vein of an amateur's love of the liberal arts.[25]

Cai began to take an active interest in the activities of the society soon after he started as Chancellor of Beijing University in December 1916. For Cai, the purpose of the society should be to "mould one's temperament" (*taoye xingqing* 陶冶性情) through musical pursuits.[26] This aim not only matched his Confucian conception of music as a means of moral and ethical persuasion, but also served his plan to morally regenerate the students and faculty of the university through literary and artistic pursuits. In June 1918, Cai suggested that the society should be reorganised under a new name, Yueli Yanjiu Hui 乐理研究会 (Research Society for Musical Theory), and he even took the trouble of drafting its new constitution.[27] It was largely due to Cai's involvement that, in January 1919, the society was turned into a teaching and research institute under the new name The Society for Music Research of Beijing University (Beijing Daxue Yinyue Yanjiuhui 北京大学音乐研究会), with Cai himself at the helm.[28]

Cai was also a keen participant in the daily activities of the society. On 19 April 1919, for example, when the society held a public concert, Cai was there to officiate.[29] In an effort to improve the level of musical

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25 For a discussion of the "amateur ideal", see Joseph Levenson, "The Amateur Ideal in Ming and Early Ch'ing Society: Evidence from Painting" in John K. Fairbank ed., *Chinese Thought and Institutions* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 320-41.

26 *Beijing Daxue Rikan* (*Beijing University Daily*), 63 (4 February 1918), p. 4.

27 Cai Yuanpei, "Wei Beida yueli yanjiu hui daini zhangcheng" ("Constitution Drafted on Behalf of the Research Society of Musical Theory at Beijing University") in Gao Pingshu ed., *Cai Yuanpei quanji*, Vol. 3, pp. 347-48.

28 For a meticulous reconstruction of the origins and developments of the Beida Institute, see Han Guohuang, "Cong Yinyue yanjiuhui dao Yinyue yiwenshe- (xinlun)" ("From the Music Research Association to the Society for Musical Art and Literature—A New Discussion") in *Han Guohuang yinyue wenji* (*Selected Works on Music by Han Kuo-huang*), Vol. 1 (Taibei: Yueyun chubanshe, 1990), pp. 27-40.

29 Huang Xudong, "Lun Cai Yuanpei yu Zhongguo jindai yinyue" ("Cai Yuanpei and the History of Modern Chinese Music"), *Zhongyang yinyue xueyuan xuebao (Journal of the Central Conservatory of Music)*, No. 3 (1998), p. 49.

proficiency, Cai invited and later employed a number of highly trained Chinese and Western musicians to give lectures or perform at the Beijing University campus. Among them were Wang Lu 王露 (1878-1921), a graduate of the Tokyo School of Music and renowned *qin* master; and Chen Zhongzi 陈仲子, a Japanese-trained reformer of Chinese music. Sensing that a lack of expertise was hindering the development of music teaching at Beijing University, Cai approached Xiao Youmei 萧友梅 (1884 -1940) in October 1920, asking him to take charge of all teaching, administrative, and artistic matters.

Differing from Cai's broad humanistic approach to music, Xiao, commonly regarded as "the father of modern Chinese music", favoured the more specialised conservatory-type of training.[30] He believed that the primary goal of the Musical Society at Beijing University should no longer be "moulding students' temperament" but "fostering musical talent" (*yangcheng yuexue rencai* 养成乐学人才).[31] Given Xiao's background and intellectual inclination, this emphasis on musical proficiency is not surprising. Xiao got his first taste of Western music in Macau when he was a child. In 1901, following the route of many young Chinese of means, he embarked on a study journey to Japan, taking a degree course in education at Tokyo Imperial University, and piano and singing as electives at the Tokyo School of Music. Unlike his contemporaries, who took their inspiration from the Japanese *shoka* model and limited themselves to didactic lyrics and simple Euro-American melodies, he showed a keen interest in the artistic value and compositional techniques of Western classical music. In November 1912, after serving briefly as Sun Yat-sen's presidential secretary, Xiao went to Germany to pursue his musical interests. He studied music theory and composition at the Leipzig State Conservatory of Music and at the same time enrolled in Leipzig University as a student of philosophy and education. In 1916, he graduated from Leipzig University with a doctoral degree in music education.[32]

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[30] Xiao's role as "the father of modern Chinese music" and as a staunch proponent of Westernisation of Chinese music has been a topic much explored by both Chinese and Western scholars. For studies in English, see Yongsheng Liang, "Western Influence on Chinese Music in the Early Twentieth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1994), pp. 94-111; Godwin Yuen, "Stylistic Development in Chinese Revolutionary Songs (1919-1940)" (Ph.D. Thesis, Griffith University, 1988), pp. 173-84. For a post-modernist evaluation of Xiao's role, see Andrew F. Jones, *Yellow Music: Media Culture and Colonial Modernity in the Chinese Jazz Age* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. 23-52.

[31] "Beijing daxue fushe yinyue chuanxisuo jianzhang" ("Regulations of the Conservatory of Music of Beijing University"), *Beijing Daxue Rikan*, No. 1069 (19 August 1922), p. 3.

[32] This material on Xiao is drawn from Liao Fushu, *Xiao Youmei zhuan* (*A Biography of Xiao Youmei*) (Hangzhou: Zhejiang meishu chubanshe, 1993), pp. 1-7; Zhang Qian,

Xiao's exposure to the music of German classical composers and his personal experience of the German conservatory systems profoundly shaped his predilections. His personal contacts with prominent European musicians such as the composer H. Schulz (1838-1915), music critic A. Remy (1870-1937), musicologist Hugo Riemann, the conductor A. Nikisch (1855-1922), and the composer and conductor R. Strauss (1864-1949), no doubt also broadened his cosmopolitan outlook. Once put in charge of the Musical Society of Beijing University—now renamed as Yinyue Chuanxisuo 音乐传习所 (Institute for the Promotion and Practice of Music)—Xiao lost no time in turning it into a music conservatory patterned on his own *alma mater*, the Leipzig Conservatory of Music. The fact that Xiao deliberately chose to translate the name of the institute into English as the "Conservatory of Music of Peking [Beijing] University" is a clear indication of his aspiration.

This change of pedagogical orientation is nowhere more clearly reflected than in the courses he designed. Of the three types of courses he developed—an applied music major, a major in music education, and electives—the first was Xiao's focus and the most technical. It comprised five divisions: theory and composition, piano, string, brass and voice. Clearly, the aim of this major was to provide aspiring professional artists with the musical skills and critical perceptions necessary to sustain a career in music, whether as solo or ensemble performers, composers, critics, or scholars. The music education major, on the other hand, aimed to prepare musicians to be teachers. Graduates of the programme would be certified to teach instrumental and/or vocal music in public and private schools, from kindergarten through to the twelfth grade. The electives provided additional opportunities for learning about the arts, supporting students with special talents and fostering a love of music. To help realise his goal, Xiao engaged a number of returned Chinese students, foreigners, and players formerly belonging to the bands of Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 (1859-1916) and Robert Hart (1835-1911) to join his teaching staff. Xiao himself taught theory, harmony, composition and history of Western music. The Swiss-trained pianist Yang Zhongzi 杨仲子 (1885-1962), and a Russian pianist, Vladimir A. Gartz, taught piano. Former members of Hart's band were largely responsible for teaching string and wind instruments. Liu Tianhua 刘天华 (1895-1932), younger brother of the folklorist Liu Fu 刘复 who led the campaign to collect folksongs, was one of the instructors who taught *erhu* and *pipa*.[33]

Zhong Ri yinyue jiaoliushi (*A History of Musical Exchanges between China and Japan*) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1999), pp. 289, 372-74.

[33] For a reconstruction of the origins and developments of the Conservatory, see Han Guohuang, "Beida yinyue chuanxisuo yanjiu" ("On the Conservatory of Music at Beijing University"), *Yinyue yanjiu* (*Art of Music*), No. 1 (1990), reprinted in *Han Guohuang yinyue wenji,* Vol. 1, pp. 27-108.

Like their counterparts in Europe and North America, the teaching staff of the institute also formed the nucleus of its seventeen-piece Western orchestra. From October 1922 to June 1927, the orchestra gave twenty-three scheduled concerts and six special concerts. Clearly, Xiao set about shaping the conservatory's concerts to match the standards of his chosen models, the great orchestral concerts of Paris, Vienna, Berlin, and especially the Gewandhaus Orchestra in Leipzig.[34] In all of its concerts, Beethoven was most represented, with four of his symphonies (No.2, No.3, No.5, and No.6), a piano concerto and other compositions. Haydn, Mozart and Mendelssohn followed close behind. The orchestra also performed works by Schubert, Weber and Wagner, and some incidental pieces by a number of now seldom-heard Germans, such as Franz von Suppé. These eighteenth and nineteenth-century German and Austrian works formed the core of the repertoire, the rest of the selections were varied; including such composers as Dvorak, Tchaikovsky, Liszt, Chopin, Glazounov, Grieg, and Oley Speaks.[35]

Xiao was certainly well disposed towards German classical music, particularly the music of the Viennese School. When living in Beijing in the early 1920s, Xiao decorated his study with portraits and busts of Bach, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert. In his own compositions, Xiao also demonstrated a strong Prussian-German influence, using the chords and musical idioms favoured by Bach, Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert.[36]

Yet, despite his passion for Western music of the classical type, Xiao was no follower of art for art's sake. While in Japan, Xiao, like many radical students at the time, was actively involved in political activism. He was one of the earliest members of the Alliance Society (Tongmenghui 同盟会), a political organisation which grew into a fully-fledged party known as

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34 Xiao Youmei, "Shuo yinyuehui" ("Talking about Concerts") in Chen Lingqun *et al* eds., *Xiao Youmei yinyue wenji* (*Xiao Youmei's Writings on Music*) (Shanghai: Shanghi yinyue chubanshe, 1990), p. 161.

35 Han, "Beida yinyue chuanxisuo yanjiu", in *Han Guohuang yinyue wenji*, Vol. 1, pp. 83-84, 89; Kuo-huang Han [Han Guohuang], "The Importation of Western Music to China at the Turn of the Twentieth Century" in Enrique Alberto Arias and John F. Ohl eds., *Essays in Honour of John F. Ohl: A Compendium of American Musicology* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2001), p. 236.

36 On Xiao's life in Beijing, see Xiao Shuxian, "Ershi niandai de Xiao Youmei xiansheng" ("Xiao Youmei in the 1920s"). For a musicological analysis of Xiao's musical works, see Wang Zhenya, "Xiao Youmei yinyue zuopin fenxi" ("An Analysis of Xiao Youmei's Musical Works"); Wang Anguo, "Xiao Youmei qiyue zuoping yanjiu" ("A Study of Xiao Youmei's Instrumental Works"). All three articles are reprinted in Dai Penghai and Huang Xudong eds., *Xiao Youmei jinian wenji* (*Essays Commemorating Xiao Youmei*) (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue chubanshe, 1993), pp. 115-38, 283-93, and 410-22.

Guomindang or Kuomingtang (KMT, nationalist party). Xiao, like Cai, was susceptible to the Confucian notion of music as a moral and ethical force and was convinced of the efficacy of "good" music in cultivating good taste and uplifting the masses. In the two decades between his return from Europe in March 1920 and his death in December 1940, Xiao, through writing articles, delivering lectures, and making public speeches and addresses, emphasised repeatedly the instrumentality of different types of music in influencing people's behaviour.[37] As Andrew Jones has pointed out, Xiao "shared with the left an interest in the power of music to mobilize the masses," but for him "this power was to be harnessed not by the revolution, but by the nation-state."[38]

Cai Yuanpei and Xiao Youmei were also directly responsible for the founding, in November 1927, of the National Conservatory of Music in Shanghai – the first Chinese-specialised musical institution geared to turning out professional musicians, composers and teachers. In October 1927, upon being appointed Chancellor of the University Council by the Nanjing government, Cai promptly gave approval to Xiao's proposal for a national conservatory of music in Shanghai. In order to give credence to the proposed institution, Cai himself took on the nominal position of *yuanzhang* 院长 (president or director), a position he did not relinquish until Xiao was formally appointed as its director in September 1928.

Two aspects of the founding of the Shanghai Conservatory are most relevant to the current study. Firstly, the conservatory produced China's first generation of professional composers, performers, theorists and musicologists, as well as music educators. These graduates came not only to "dominate the musical life of the intelligentsia of the treaty ports," but also to "be regarded as authorities for acceptable musical standards and behaviour" throughout the country, even to this day.[39] Second, the conservatory was accountable for turning out musical technocrats and ideologues who were to influence profoundly the course of music history both in mainland China and Taiwan. The conductor and violinist Dai Cuilun 戴粹伦 (1912-1981), for example, who entered the conservatory in 1928, was among the many graduates from the conservatory who later became closely involved in the Nationalist cause. After a period of advanced study

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[37] Xiao Youmei, "Yinyue de shili" ("The Power of Music"), first published in March 1934; reprinted in Chen Lingqin *et al* eds., *Xiao Youmei yinyue wenji*, pp. 343-46. For a fascinating reading of this article, see Andrew F. Jones, "Popular Music & Colonial Modernity in China, 1900-1937" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1997), pp. 58-67.

[38] Jones, *Yellow Music*, p. 45.

[39] Isabel K. F. Wong, "From Reaction to Synthesis: Chinese Musicology in the Twentieth Century" in Bruno Nettle and Philip V. Bohlman eds., *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 43.

in Austria, Dai came back to China in 1937 to teach music at the Lizhishe 励志社 (The Officers' Moral Endeavour Association) in the Nationalist capital, Nanjing. In 1940, when the KMT government resurrected the conservatory in Chongqing, the wartime capital Dai first served as head of the strings department and then as its president. After the Communist victory in 1949, Dai continued to play an important role in the development of musical culture in Taiwan, serving, among many important positions, as director of the Taiwan Symphony Orchestra and head of the music department at the Taiwan Normal University.[40]

The music critic and Communist ideologue Lü Ji 吕骥 (1909-2002) was another famous graduate of the conservatory. A student of the conservatory from 1930-1934, Lü was known first for being the driving force behind the musical activities of the League of Left-Wing Dramatists – a subsidiary association of the League of Left-Wing Writers in Shanghai. Like many of the Chinese Communist Party's (CCP) most prominent literary and arts spokesmen, Lü, after the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, made the trek from Shanghai to Yan'an. There he quickly emerged as the CCP's top-ranking spokesman for music. As one of the founders of Lu Xun Academy of Art and Literature, he held various powerful positions, including head of its music department. After the establishment of the People's Republic of China, Lü consolidated his position as the most authoritative figure in China's musical circles, upholding Mao's policy on arts and music and directing various campaigns against any real or imagined bourgeois influence. Even after his death in 2002, his influence remains strong.[41]

Missionaries and Musical Education

Chinese intellectuals were not the only ones active in promoting Western music for social and political gains in the decades after the founding of the Republic. Nor were Beijing University and the National Conservatory of Music in Shanghai the only learning institutions equipped with good music departments or high-calibre faculties. Most of the missionary-run schools and universities had either a department of music or listed music as an important component of their curricula. Unlike in the earlier decades,

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[40] For a biography of Dai, See Han Guohuang, *Dai Cuilun - gengyu yi mu yuetian* (*Dai Cuilun: A Toiler in the Field of Music*) (Taibei: Shibao chuban gongsi, 2002).

[41] For a hagiographical account of Lü Ji, see Li Yedao, "Lü Ji pingzhuan" ("A Critical Biogrophy of Lü Ji"), *Yinyue yanjiu* (*Music Research*), No. 1 (1996), pp. 42-52; No. 2 (1996), pp. 27-36. David Holm has also mentioned Lü Ji's role as a leading CCP spokesman in music during the Yan'an period (1937-47). See Holm, *Art and Ideology*, pp. 43-46; 71, 79, 133 and 217.

however, the missionary influence at this time was mainly exerted through their graduates. As early as 1910, a music school was set up by a Chinese Catholic convert, named Gao Lianke 高连科, in Beijing. The curriculum consisted of music theory, principles of harmony, singing, harmonium and piano.[42] Also in Beijing, Bliss M. Wiant, of the American Methodist Episcopal Mission, had been active since his arrival in August 1923. Together with his wife, Ruth Stahl, along with Adeline Veghte and Mrs. Earl O. Wilson, Wiant worked tirelessly to build up the music department at Yenching University.[43] Under Wiant's direction, the performance of Handel's *Messiah* became "an annual affair."[44] In Nanjing, the missionary Jinling College for girls was also "famous for its music department, which turned out a number of competent pianists and vocalists."[45] Other Christian universities, like Lingnan, Hujiang, Hangzhou, Suzhou, Huanan, and Qilu, offered credits for music courses. Like their American counterparts, Chinese students at Christian colleges formed drum and fife corps, and glee clubs. By 1903, the prevalent use of bands was such that on the occasion of the return, from a year's furlough, of the Rev. Francis L. H. Pott, President of St. John's University in Shanghai, "the students, dressed in uniforms, marched out a good distance, headed by the College Drum and Fife Band to welcome their respected President."[46] Other Western musical instruments were also prominent in the lives of Christian college students. Instruments such as the banjo, violin, harp, piano, flute and fife figured prominently "both on the [St John's] school's social and ceremonial calendar and in the daily life in student's dormitories."[47]

Christian colleges aside, mission schools, as in previous years, continued to be an important force in disseminating Western music in China. In Beijing, for example, the choir of the Bridgman's Middle School for Girls was, for many years, very active in the greater Beijing area, and its music programme was known nationwide. Together with the glee club of the

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[42] Xiang Yansheng, "Beijing zuizao de xiandai yinyue xuexiao" ("The Earliest Modern Music School in Beijing"), *Yinyue zhoubao* (*Music Weekly*) (3 January, 1997).

[43] Dwight W. Edwards, *Yenching University* (New York: United Board for Christian Higher Education in Asia, 1958), p. 324. For a brief biographical account of Wiant and his musical activities at Yenching University, see Han Guohuang, "Hechang yundong xianqu, Zhongxi yinyue qianoliang-Fan Tianxiang qiren qishi" ("A Pioneer in China's Choral Singing Movement and a Bridge between Chinese and Western Music: The Life and Work of Bliss Wiant") in *Han Guohuang yinyue wenji*, Vol. 1, pp. 161-71.

[44] Benjamin Z.N. Ing, "Music Chronicle", *T'ien Hsia Monthly,* Vol. 4 No. 1 (1937), p. 57.

[45] A. C. Scott, *Literature and the Arts in Twentieth Century China* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1963), p. 131.

[46] Mary Lamberton, *St. John's University*, *1879-1951* (New York: United Board for Christian Colleges in China, 1955), p. 55.

[47] Wen-hsin Yeh, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 70

Christian Yuying Boys' Middle School, the Bridgman's Middle School's choral group was to dominate the musical scene of the missionary communities of north China for a long time.[48] In Shanghai, the choir of the Mary Farnham School became so successful that it featured regularly at various civil and religious gatherings in Shanghai.[49] Indeed, so prominent was the role that the mission schools had played in the popularisation of Western choral music in China that, in 1937, referring to "the growing influence of missionaries in the new era," the conductor, music educator, historian and critic Chao Mei-pa [赵梅伯 Zhao Meibo] said of mission schools:

> Their simple hymns laid the foundation for the awakened interest of thousands of young musicians today. The work of the Shanghai Songsters, the Hangchow [Hangzhou] Choral Union, the Peiping [Beiping] Choral Society, the Huchow [Huzhou] Chorus and others in their annual concerts, has served as means for propagating this interest. The participants in these musical clubs, at least ninety percent, if not all, come from Christian schools.[50]

Singling out "the wonderful work done at McTyeire School in 1929 … especially the winning of the first prize in the International Musical Festival Contest" for special praise, Chao observed that "[s]tudents from these colleges today have become society leaders and have organized music clubs, supported musicians and furthered musical interest and enthusiasm over wide areas."[51]

Missionaries also exerted their influence on China's professional musical education through their students. From very early on, the faculty of the National Shanghai Conservatory of Music consisted of either graduates of mission schools or returned students from Europe and North America who had some kind of connection with the Christian mission. For example, Wang Ruixiang 王瑞娴, a graduate of the McTyeire School in Shanghai, was one of the earliest Chinese piano teachers at the conservatory. Zhou Shu'an 周淑安 (1894-1974), known as the first female Chinese conductor, was one of many Chinese Christians who played an important role in the

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48 Li Baochen (Lee Pao'chen), *Shanmu zhai hua dangnian* (*Reminiscences of Li Baochen*) (Taibei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1967), pp. 43-64.

49 Sun, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue jiaoyushi jinian*, pp. 3, 268-69.

50 Chao Mei-pa, "The Trend of Modern Chinese Music", *T'ien Hsia Monthly,* Vol. 4, No. 3 (March 1937), p. 272.

51 Ibid, p. 273.

early development of the conservatory.[52] Huang Zi 黄自 (1904-1938), dean of studies at the conservatory from 1930 to 1937, took piano lessons with another McTyeire graduate, Shi Fengzhu 史凤珠, while at Qinghua College in 1913.[53] The violinist Tan Shuzhen 谭抒真 (1907-), who for many years headed the conservatory's string and wind department, was a son of a church chorister from Shandong.[54] Li Jialu 李嘉禄 (1919-1982), the famous pianist who served for thirty years as deputy chair of the piano department, also owed his musical career to his Christian connections.[55]

Musical Modernity and the Discourse on "Guoyue" 国乐

The 1920s and 1930s saw intense efforts by Chinese intellectuals highly trained in either Chinese or Western music (and, in some cases, both) to reform Chinese music along Western lines. Their efforts to modernise Chinese music were coterminous with the prevalent intellectual trend to revive the Chinese nation through rebuilding China's national culture.[56] This is seen nowhere more clearly than in the discourse on *guoyue* 国乐 (national music). The call for a new kind of music that was modern, scientific and national, but invested with a crucial social and political purpose, was not a musical phenomenon but an integral part of Chinese intellectuals' effort to revive China through cultural means. It was also part of a worldwide phenomenon to use music to awaken and create national consciousness.[57]

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[52] Biographical material on Zhou can be found in Liao Fushu, "Jindai Zhongguo diyi ge hechang nü zhihuijia" ("Zhou Shu'an, The First Female Conductor of Choral Music in Modern China") in Liao Chongxiang ed., *Yueyuan tanwang* (*A Life in Music*) (Beijing: Huayue chubanshe, 1996), pp. 77-81.

[53] Wang Yühe, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyueshi* (*A History of Modern Chinese Music*) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubansh, 2002), p. 58, n5.

[54] Zhao Jiazi, "Zili shenhou duocai duoyi-Xiaotiqinjia Tan Shuzhen" ("The Violinist Tan Shuzhen - A Highly Qualified and Multi-talented Person") in Xiang Yansheng ed., *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyuejia zhuan* (*Biographies of Modern Chinese Musicians*) (Shenyang: Chunfeng wenyi chubanshe, 1994), Vol. 1, pp. 736-45.

[55] Zheng Shuxing, "Yinyue shi ta shengming zhong yongheng de zhuti" ("Music is the Eternal Theme in His Life") in Xiang Yansheng ed., *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyuejia zhuan*, Vol. 3, pp. 282-90.

[56] For a stimulating discussion of China's nation-building and culture-building projects as reflected in the field of literature, see Lydia H. Liu, *Translingual Practice: Literature, National Culture, and Translated Modernity—China, 1900-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), pp. 183-256.

[57] The use of music in the construction of national identities in countries like Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and Turkey has been well documented. Examples include Martin Stokes, *The Arabesk Debate* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); John Baily, "The Role of Music in the Creation of an Afghan National Identity, 1923-73" in Martin Stokes ed., *Ethnicity, Identity and Music—The Musical Construction of Place* (BERG, Oxford: Providence,

Among campaigners for the *guoyue* ideal, Wang Guangqi 王光祈 (1892-1936), a May Fourth student leader and a social- reformer-turned-musicologist, stood out as the most elaborate articulator of the *guoyue* concept.[58]

Wang defined *guoyue* as a new kind of music that "is sufficient to carry forward the upward spirit of that nation and at the same time wins international recognition for its [artistic] excellence."[59] Clearly, his idea of *guoyue* had more to do with his reformist ideal than with his love of music. In other words, for Wang, the creation of a national music was not the end itself but a means to an end; that is, to transform the old, decadent and oppressive China into a young, vibrant, independent, rich and powerful nation state through music.[60] Writing in Berlin in 1923, Wang was convinced that the wealth of German musical culture was essentially responsible for Germany's rapid transformation from tradition to modernity, and he called for a creation of a "young China," through "a revival of Confucian *li* 礼(rites) and *yue* 乐 (music)."[61]

The idea of using music to awaken national consciousness was by no means Wang Guangqi's invention. Liang Qichao, for example, praised highly the military marches that Huang Zunxian 黄遵宪 (1848-1905) wrote, and had much to say about the effectiveness of including soul-stirring songs in nationalist education.[62] Nor was Wang alone in emphasising the importance of learning from the West in order to create national music that

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1994), pp. 45-70; T.M. Scruggs, "'Let's Enjoy as Nicaraguans': The Use of Music in the Construction of a Nicaraguan National Consciousness", *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (1999), pp. 297-321. In Wang's case, it was most likely that he was inspired by the attempts of German musicologists to seek the German essence in music after Germany's defeat in World War I. For an excellent study of efforts to define "Germanness" in Germany in the 1920s and 1930s, see Pamela M. Potter, *Most German of the Arts: Musicology and Society from the Weimar Republic to the End of Hitler's Reich* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 200-34.

58 For a critical study of Wang Guangqi, see Hong-yu Gong, "Wang Guangqi (1892-1936) - His Life and Works" (MA Thesis, The University of Auckland, 1992). For a study of Wang's role in the history of modern China, see Marilyn A. Levine, *The Found Generation: Chinese Communists in Europe during the Twenties* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1993), chapters 2 and 5.

59 Wang Guangqi, "Zhushu ren de zuihou mudi" ("The Ultimate Aim of the Author") in Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui choubeichu ed., *Wang Guangqi yinyue lunwen xuan* (*Selected Works on Music by Wang Guangqi*) (Chengdu, 1984), p. 53.

60 Ibid., p. 54.

61 Wang Guangqi, "Deguoren zhi yinyue shenghuo" ("Musical Life of the German People"), Nos. 1 & 2, *Shenbao* (7 & 8 October, 1923). For a study of Wang Guangqi's "Young China" ideal, see Hong-yu Gong, "Wang Guangqi and the Young China Association", *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (1999), pp. 5-27.

62 Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi shihua* (*Poetic Remarks from the Ice-drinker's Studio*) (Beijing: Renmin wenxue chubanshe, 1982), pp. 42-43.

was truly Chinese. Other Chinese intellectuals and music educators concurred with this eclectic approach. In a serialised essay published in the early 1920s, Chen Zhongzi, a lecturer at the Musical Society of Beijing University, suggested that a thorough investigation of Western music must be a prerequisite for any talk about a possible revival of Chinese music.[63] Similarly, Zheng Xunyin 郑训寅and a host of other intellectuals also stressed the importance of learning from the West.[64]

The efforts to make use of Western techniques and to locate distinctively Chinese music as a national marker did not necessarily follow the same path. “We do not need to invent such things as modulation, notation, and instruments and so on,” Wang Guangqi argued, “because the most important thing in music is the meaning that music contains.”[65] By emphasising the dichotomy between musical content and musical form, Wang clearly demonstrated a strong resemblance to Zhang Zhidong’s 张之洞 (1837-1909) well-known *ti-yong* 体-用 (essence / function) formula in his thinking. Working under the influence of the “Berlin School of Comparative Musicology,” as represented by Carl Stumpf (1848-1936), Erich von Hornbostel (1877-1935) and Curt Sachs (1881-1959), he embarked on an ambitious project of sifting through Chinese old scores, *guqin* nomenclatures, musical treatises and monographs while studying for a PhD in music at the University of Berlin. From 1923 until his sudden death in Bonn in January 1936, Wang, in addition to his doctoral thesis on classical Chinese opera,[66] published some seventeen book-length publications and numerous articles on music. These ranged from historical surveys of Western music and research on the tone systems of East and West, to theories of acoustics, psychology and musical education, to academic treatises on the theoretical problems of ancient Chinese music.[67]

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[63] Chen Zhongzi, “Yu guoyue zhi fuxing yi tong xiyue shuo” (“An Understanding of Western Music is Good for the Revival of Chinese Music”), *Yinyue zazhi* (*The Journal of Music*), Vol. 1, Nos. 9-10 (December 1920), Vol. 2, No. 1 (January 1921).

[64] Zheng Xunyin, “Guoyue zhi fuxing yu Xiyue zhi jieshao” (“The Renaissance of Chinese Music and the Introduction of Western Music”), *Xin yuechao* (*New Musical Tide*), Vol. 2, No. 2 (March 1928), pp. 11-12.

[65] Wang Guangqi, “Zhushu ren de zuihou mudi”, pp. 54-55.

[66] Wang Kuang-ch’i [Wang Guangqi], “Über die Chinesische Klassische Oper (1530-1860)” (PhD. dis., Bonn University, 1934). Serialized in *Orient et Occident*, Vol. 1, Nos. 1-3 (1934). A Chinese translation of the dissertation by Jin Jingyan can be found in Wang Guangqi yanjiu xueshu taolunhui choubeichu ed., *Wang Guangqi yinyue lunwen xuan*, pp. 238-315.

[67] As evidenced by his 1934 seminal work, *Zhongguo yinyue shi* (*A History of Chinese Music*), Wang, more than any other musicologist of his time, had laid out a theory and history for Chinese music that musicologists, musicians, and historians would need to contend with seriously in any further study of the subject. Moreover, he was single-handedly responsible for bringing about a paradigmatic change in music scholarship and

While Wang concentrated on China's written tradition, Liu Tianhua, an accomplished player of the *erhu* and *pipa,* began an ambitious attempt to reform Chinese musical instruments. In addition to transcribing traditional Chinese tunes into Western staff notation, and incorporating them into his own compositions using Western compositional principles, he also applied the sophisticated fingering and bowing techniques of the violin to the *erhu*.[68] Zhao Yuanren 赵元任 (1892-1982), a Harvard-trained philosopher and well-known linguist, deliberately set out to create an art-song tradition similar to that of Schubert, using piano accompaniment.[69] On the other hand, the composer Huang Zi, a Yale- and Oberlin-trained composer who, more than anyone else, was responsible for training the first generation of Chinese composers, modelled his *guoyue* ideal on the music of the Russian National School of the late- nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[70] In his own works, particularly his vocal pieces composed in the 1930s, Huang combined Western forms with Chinese musical idioms and composed music for poems written in classical forms.[71] The Communist composer Xian Xinghai 冼星海 (1905-1945), who studied with Vincent D'Indy and Paul Dukas at the Paris Conservatory, re-organised folk melodies in Western forms such as the cantata and symphony and combined Chinese with Western musical instruments.[72] Even the most European-influenced, Xiao Youmei, agonised over the issue of how to create a music that was both national and modern.[73]

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for setting the terms for rigorous, erudite scholarship on music. See Huang Xiangpeng, *Zhongguoren de yinyue he yinyue xue* (*Chinese Music and Musicology*) (Jinan: Shandong wenyi chubanshe, 1997), pp. 138-46.

[68] Maochun Liang, "Tianhua Liu—A Contemporary Revolutionary of the Erhu", *Sonus*, Vol. 17, No. 1 (1996), p. 47; Wong, "From Reaction to Synthesis", p. 42. Liu's experiments came to enjoy widespread acceptance in China's academic circles and even to this day his works are being used as standard *erhu* and *pipa* repertoires in China's music conservatoires and the music departments of various universities.

[69] See Zhao's introduction to *Xin shige ji* (*A Collection of New Songs*) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1928) and "Zhongguo pai hesheng de jige xiao shiyan" ("A Few Little Experiments in Chinese-style Harmony"), *Yinyue zazhi* (*The Journal of Music*), No. 4 (October 1928). For a study of Zhao's songs, see Liang, "Western influence on Chinese Music in the Early Twentieth Century", pp. 112-39.

[70] Huang Zi, "Zenyang caineng chansheng wuguo minzu yinyue" ("How to Create Our National Music"), *Chenbao* (*Morning Post*) (21 October, 1934), reprinted in Zhang Jingwie ed., *Sousuo lishi* (*In Search of History*) (Shanghai: Shanghai yinyue xueyuan chubanshe, 2001), pp. 172-73.

[71] For a musicological analysis of these pieces, see Liang, "Western influence on Chinese Music in the Early Twentieth Century", pp. 154-60.

[72] For a study of Xian Xinghai, see Kraus, *Pianos and Politics in China,* pp. 40-69.

[73] Xiao Youmei, "Guanyu woguo xin yinyue yundong" ("On the Chinese New Music Movement"), *Yinyue yuekan* (*Music Monthly*) No. 4 (February 1938), reprinted in Chen Lingqin *et al* eds., *Xiao Youmei yinyue wenji*, pp. 465-66.

Central to the call for a synthesis of Western forms and Chinese contents was the consensus that Chinese music had fallen behind developments in the West.[74] Yet, unlike their predecessors who denigrated their own nation's music mainly on account of its ineffectiveness in national rejuvenation,[75] the May Fourth intellectuals tended to analyse China's musical "backwardness" in terms of its technical deficiencies, thanks to their advanced training in the Western classical tradition. Typical of this trend, Lieu Da-kun [Liu Dajun 刘大鈞], who was a graduate of the University of Michigan, simply dismissed Chinese music for having "no standard scale, no standard pitch, no standard instrument, no standard music composition."[76] Lieu's negative view of Chinese music was shared by a succession of other Chinese intellectuals, who augmented his theory by producing, over the course of the next two decades, a canonical understanding of what Chinese music needed in order to catch up with the West. For example, Zhao Yuanren was deeply convinced that the regeneration of Chinese music hinged on Western functional harmony and the skilful manipulation of Chinese tonal features. In the 1920s, he experimented with harmonising Chinese folk and operatic melodies based on the pentatonic scale and tonal patterns, and wrote much about his experiences.[77] Writing in a similar vein in 1934, Xiao Youmei stated emphatically that, musically, China was at least "a thousand years" behind the West. As a musicologist trained under Hugo Riemann (1849-1919) and Arnold Schering, Xiao was convinced that Chinese music was in need of reform along Western lines, singling out the non-existence of well-manufactured keyboard instruments and of a standardised staff notation as reasons behind China's lack of development in "contrapuntal music."[78]

The notion that a lack of polyphonic music in China was primarily responsible for the "backwardness" of Chinese music was also the motivating factor behind the efforts of the Taiwan-born and Japanese-trained music educator Ke Zhenghe 柯政和 (1890-1973). In a series of articles published in Beijing between June 1927 and July 1929, Ke

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[74] Gerlinde Gild, "Dreams of Renewal Inspired by Japan and the West: Early 20th Century 'Reforms' in Chinese Music", *CHIME,* Nos. 12-13 (1998), pp.117-23.

[75] Fei Shi, "Zhongguo yinyue gailiang shuo" ("On the Reform of Chinese Music"), *Zhejiang chao* (*Tide of Zhejiang*), No. 1 (June 1903), pp. 1-9.

[76] Lieu Da-kun, "Chinese music" cited in Kuo-huang Han, "The Importation of Western Music to China", p. 235.

[77] See Zhao's introduction to *Xin shige ji* (*A Collection of New Songs*) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1928), and "Zhongguo pai hesheng de jige xiao shiyan" ("A Few Little Experiments in Chinese-style Harmony"), *Yinyue zazhi* (*The Journal of Music*), No. 4 (October 1928).

[78] Xiao Youmei, "Zuijin yiqian nian lai xiyue fazhan zhi xianzhu shishi yu woguo jiuyue bu zhen zhi yuanyin" , pp. 21-23.

introduced a variety of Western composers ranging from Beethoven, Schubert and Debussy to Schönberg. In the process, he familiarised the Chinese reading public with such radical Western concepts as "poly-tonality", "atonality", "multi-rhythm", "poly-rhythm", and "poly-instrumentality", and "dodecaphonic" (also known as twelve-tone).[79] Indeed, the Chinese proponents of the *guoyue* ideal were so preoccupied with Western polyphonic music that, throughout the last century, Chinese composers and music reformers never tired of citing China's lack of polyphonic music as the reason for China's failure to modernise its music. As recently as 1980, Jiang Yimin 蒋一民, then a Shanghai-based music critic, cited the same reason for China's apparent inability to catch up with the West.[80]

"The iconoclastic modernism of the May Fourth Movement," as Prasenjit Duara points out, "was scarcely the only vision of modernity."[81] Nor were all advocates of the *guoyue* ideal Western-trained. Many conservative literati, greatly disturbed by the fact that Chinese music was gradually being superseded by Western music, also made efforts to modernise Chinese traditional music. Realising that the survival of Chinese music hinged on what it lacked—namely, a connected history, a systematic pedagogy and respectability—they, too, worked hard to modernise the performance and teaching methods of Chinese music. The decade of the 1920s saw, among other things, a flurry of publishing activities. In the field of music history alone, for example, this period witnessed the publication, in 1922, of Ye Bohe's 叶伯和 (1889-1945) first comprehensive attempt at a connected history of Chinese music, *Zhongguo yinyue shi* 中国音乐史 (*A History of Chinese Music*), followed by Tong Fei's 童斐 *Zhongyue xunyuan* 中乐寻源 (*In Search of the Origins of Chinese Music*) in 1926, and Zheng Jinwen's 郑觐文 (1872-1935) ambitious four-volume history of Chinese music in 1929.[82]

To ensure the survival of traditional Chinese music, proponents of Chinese music formed musical associations and set up training

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[79] See Ke Zhenghe, "Xin yinyue" ("New Music"), *Xin yuechao* (*New Musical Trends*), Vol. 1, No. 2 (July 1927), pp. 2-5; "Shenboke de yinyue" ("Schönberg's Music"), *Xin yuechao* Vol. 2, No. 1 (February 1928), pp. 1-8.

[80] Jiang Yimin, "Guanyu woguo yinyue wenhua luohou yuanyin de tantao" ("An Investigation into the Reasons Why Our Musical Culture is Backward"), *Yinyue yanjiu* (*Music Research*), No. 4 (1980), pp. 35-50.

[81] Prasenjit Duara, "Of Authenticity and Woman: Personal Narratives of Middle-Class Women in Modern China" in Wen-hsin Yeh ed., *Becoming Chinese: Passages to Modernity and Beyond* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 342.

[82] For publishing details of these books, see Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo ed., *Zhongguo yinyue shupu zhi (A Bibliography of Books and Scores Published in China*) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 1981), pp. 56, 58.

establishments in major urban centres, in order to create a public awareness of China's musical heritage and facilitate the learning of Chinese music.[83] In spite of the prevailing trend to Westernise, the activities of these appreciation societies and study associations were generally well received and, in some cases, produced tangible successes. The group of young men trained by Peng Zhiqing 彭祉卿 in his *qin* society in Changsha, for example, not only "became famous throughout of the land" later on, but also caught the eyes of the Shanxi Governor, Yan Xishan 阎锡山 (1883-1960). So impressed was he by their achievements, Yan invited them "to be instructors and fellows in Chinese music at the Provincial Institute for Music at Taiyuan."[84]

In their concerted efforts to "revive" (*fuxing* 复兴), rather than "create" (*chuangzao* 创造), Chinese national music, these advocates of the *guoyue* ideal demonstrated a rather narrow understanding of what constituted Chinese music. Most of the proponents of Chinese music preferred to concentrate on the revival of the highbrow *yayue* or refined music, the aristocratic *kunqu,* and other regional instrumental musical forms that they deemed as having a national "essence". Similar to Western, conservatorium-trained musicians and music educators of the same period, their activities included: sifting and collating court repertoires; publishing anthologies of *kunqu* arias, *dizi* and *qin* repertoires; and writing scholarly treatises on the history, formal and modal features, and other aspects of historical Chinese music. Their work was by no means unimpressive as, by the early 1940s, they had unearthed a large number of old manuscripts and notated thousands of old pieces. They also established amateur singing clubs and training academies to train the next generation of actors and instrumentalists.[85] To make Chinese music more accessible to a larger audience, they made public what they had collected and compiled many pedagogical volumes.[86] Yang Zongji 杨宗稷, for example, was a prolific writer of historical and musicological treatises on the *qin*. For two decades between the founding of the Chinese Republic and 1932, he dedicated his life to bringing *qin* music to the forefront of the public consciousness.[87] Clearly oriented toward a wider public readership, most of the collections published in this period comprised written texts, notated scores, theoretical

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[83] Wong, "From Reaction to Synthesis", p. 39.
[84] Ch'in Hsiang-ling, "Music Chronicle", *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (April 1940), p. 474.
[85] Wong, "From Reaction to Synthesis", p. 39.
[86] For a list of such collections, see Zhongguo yishu yanjiuyuan yinyue yanjiusuo ed., *Zhongguo yinyue shupu zhi*, pp. 121-25.
[87] For a list of *qin* anthologies and handbooks Yang published between 1911-1922, see Ibid., p. 122.

introductions, and explanations of various playing techniques. Referring to the five *dizi* collections published in the two decades between 1924 and 1946, Frederick Lau observes that:

> All collections . . . contain some form of introductory passages preceding the actual musical notation. The content of these passages resembles that of *qin* handbooks and they include general introduction, music theory, history of the *dizi*, manner of holding the *dizi*, fingering chart, the correct way of applying the membrane, methods of playing and practicing, and explanations of the traditional modal system.[88]

Ironically, in their efforts to revive Chinese music and resist the onslaught of wholesale Westernisation, these conservatives also demonstrated a strong tendency to modernise traditional Chinese music according to Western concepts.[89] Zheng Jinwen, founder of the influential Datong Yuehui 大同乐会 (Great Unity Musical Society) in Shanghai, for example, experimented with organising Chinese ensembles according to Western orchestral principles, performed Chinese instrumental music in Western-style concert settings, transcribed repertoires of traditional music into Western notation, and wrote historical treatises on Chinese music. He even modified Chinese musical instruments in order to improve the sound quality of the instruments.[90]

The *guoyue* debate of the 1920s and 1930s demonstrated a general consensus among Chinese musicians and music critics towards reforming Chinese music according to some Western-derived scientific principles. It also shows that, in spite of their dissatisfaction with China's indigenous musical traditions, few of the reformers of Chinese music believed that the problem could "be solved by borrowing all these things from foreign sources."[91] As shown, most proponents of the *guoyue* ideal maintained that traditional Chinese values and aesthetics were relevant, even in a rapidly changing environment, and all their efforts were aimed at finding a way to create music that was both modern and Chinese. The differences between the progressives and the conservatives may be more apparent than real. After all, the call for the creation of a new kind of music that was modern, scientific and national, but invested with a crucial social and political

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88 Frederick Lau, "'Lost in Time?': Sources of the 20th Century Dizi Repertory", *Pacific Review of Ethnomusicology*, No. 7 (1995), p. 35.
89 Jones, "Popular Music & Colonial Modernity in China", p. 46.
90 Xu Guangyi, "Datong yuehui" ("Great Unity Musical Society"), *Yinyue yanjiu* (*Music Research*), No. 4 (1984), pp. 114-15.
91 Lieu Da-kun, "Chinese music", cited in Han, "The Importation of Western Music to China", p. 235.

purpose was a goal shared by both the Western-trained musicians and the cultural conservatives.

The Manipulation of Music: The Communists, the Nationalists, and the Warlords

While urban intellectuals and conservative literati debated the issues of how to modernise Chinese music while maintaining its traditional essence, the Chinese Communists showed a remarkable indifference to the whole issue of cultural modernity. Rather than debating music—its history, pedagogy and origins—they focused on exploring practical ways to utilise music, in order to advance their political causes. "The Communists showed little respect for China's folk culture as an art form," Chang-tai Hung has correctly pointed out. "Instead, they turned it into a vehicle for mass political education."[92]

The earliest Chinese Communist use of music in the service of their revolution can be traced back to the early 1920s. In January 1921, when members of the "Marxist Research Society" at Beijing University were urged by its founder, Li Dazhao 李大钊 (1888-1927), to go out into the Chinese countryside and investigate the conditions of peasant life there, they used folk tunes and composed songs to explain to peasants the doctrines of Communism. Similarly, when the Communists began rallying the workers from mid-1921 onward, they made extensive use of songs as a tool for agitation. In May 1922, when Li Lisan 李立三 (1899-1967) and Liu Shaoqi 刘少奇 (1898-1969) began to form "workers' clubs" as fronts for union organization among the Anyuan coal miners and the Daye steel foundry labourers, they made use of folk tunes and school songs to convey their Communist ideas. During the Communist-instigated strike of railway workers on the Beijing and Hankou railway in February 1923, songs were also used as a means of propagating the ideals of the workers' union and the strength of solidarity.[93]

The Chinese Communists also used songs as an agitational and propagandistic tool to mobilise the peasant population in their base areas. In Hailufeng, on the coast north of Guangzhou, where the earliest Communist rural bases were established from 1923 onward, Peng Pai 彭湃 (1896-1929) not only turned local Cantonese folk songs into anti-landlord songs but also

[92] Chang-tai Hung, "Re-educating a Blind Storyteller: Han Qixiang and the Chinese Communist Storytelling Campaign," *Modern China* Vol. 19, No. 4 (1993), p. 397.
[93] Xu Shijia, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue shigang* (*An Outline History of Modern Chinese Music*) (Haikou: Nanhai chuban gongsi, 1997), pp. 152-157.

wrote some revolutionary songs himself.[94] In order to develop the most effective methods by which it might get close to and organise the peasant masses, the CCP Central Committee even called for its members to make every effort to learn from peasants and to be immersed in their culture in its July 1926 "Resolutions on the Peasant Movement."[95] So important was music to the cause of the CCP that, by the end of 1929, calls had been once again made "for more extensive use of oral and visual forms of literature and art in the Red Army's political work."[96]

From very early on, Mao Zedong was certainly cognisant of the importance of revolutionary songs in carrying out the political work of the CCP. When he and the surviving Autumn Harvest troops retreated into the Jinggang Mountains in October 1927, "one experiment was the writing of official proclamations in folksong form."[97] During the Jiangxi Soviet (1928-1934), Mao suggested in the Gutian Resolutions that adequate attention must be paid to writing new, and collecting previously existing, revolutionary songs, organising performing propaganda teams and setting up soldiers' clubs.[98] Qu Qiubai 瞿秋白 (1899-1935) and Zhang Wentian 张闻天 (1900-1976) (who gained the CCP's top post in January 1935), were also among a number of early CCP leaders who paid close attention to the use of revolutionary literature and art in CCP's political work. In the early 1930s, Qu called for a fusion of revolutionary content with popular artistic forms, and insisted specifically that revolutionary youths "should go to the storytellers and singers of local songs as well as to teahouses and places of entertainment to learn popular literature and art."[99] In addition to being one of the earliest to translate the Internationale into Chinese,[100] Qu wrote a number of songs himself, including the widely circulated *Dongyangren chubing* (*Japan Has Dispatched Its Troops*) in both Shanghai dialect and Mandarin,[101] and *Chichao qu* (*Song of Red Tide*).[102] The group of Russian-trained Chinese communists, known as the "Twenty-Eight Bolsheviks,"

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[94] For an example of Peng Pai's songs, see Wang, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyueshi*, p. 158. For a study of Peng Pai, see Fernando Galbiati, *P'eng P'ai and the Hai-lu-feng Soviet* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985).
[95] C. Martin Wilbur and Julie Lien-ying How eds., *Documents on Communism, Nationalism, and Soviet Advisers in China, 1918-1927* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956), p. 301.
[96] Judd, "Revolutionary Drama and Song in the Jiangxi Soviet", pp. 129-30.
[97] Ibid., p. 129.
[98] Ibid., pp. 130-31.
[99] Li Hsiao-t'i, "Making a Name and a Culture for the Masses in Modern China", *Positions*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2001), p. 60.
[100] Liao Fushu, "Tan Zhongguo de 'diyi ge' shenme zhilei" ("A Note on the Issue of 'the Firsts' and the Like in China") in Liao Chongxiang ed., *Yueyuan tanwang*, pp. 340-41.
[101] Li, "Making a Name and a Culture for the Masses in Modern China", p. 53.
[102] Wang, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyueshi*, pp. 85-87.

were also acutely aware of the importance of music, as evidenced by their bringing into the Jiangxi Soviet the ideas about revolutionary literature and art that they had learned in the Soviet Union.[103]

Compared to the CCP, the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) appeared to be less than effective in its use of the arts and literature in rallying the masses to support its cause.[104] However, it would be wrong to assume that the Nationalists were oblivious to the usefulness of music in ideological indoctrination and social and political engineering. Several scholars have pointed out the ways in which the KMT paid attention to the creation of its national anthem and used the singing of nationalist songs in schools and mass assemblies as a means of nation-building.[105]

The KMT's use of music in political mobilisation can be seen in its attempt at social engineering. Its 1932 attempt to improve the standard of musical education and to stamp out the unhealthy influence of so-called "vulgar and degenerate" music is a case in point. In 1932, the KMT established in Nanchang the "Committee for the Promotion of Musical Education," under the auspices of the Jiangxi Bureau of Education. Led by the Tokyo-trained composer Cheng Maoyun 程懋筠 (1900-1957), the committee worked tirelessly, from June 1933, to push for the standardisation of musical education. Not only did it conduct regular training courses in piano, singing and the violin, it also organised "choruses, glee clubs, and group-singing contests for middle schools."[106] In order to educate the general public and to make music more accessible, the committee also published a monthly magazine, *Musical Education* (*Yinyue jiaoyu*), and maintained its own orchestra and choir.[107]

Music was also used by the KMT as an agitational tool to aid government campaigns. For example, in the New Life Movement, launched by the Nationalist government in early 1934, songs were used to teach people what a nation consisted of and urged them to cultivate their moral character. With the patronage of Madame Chiang Kai-shek, the New Life Movement Association conducted mass singing under the direction of Chao

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103 Judd, "Revolutionary Drama and Song", p. 132.
104 Some scholars even go as far as to identify this as one of the reasons for the ultimate downfall of the KMT. See Hung Chang-tai, *War and Popular Culture: Resistance in Modern China, 1937-1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), p. 7.
105 Cyrus H. Peake, *Nationalism and Education in Modern China* (New York: The Columbia University Press, 1932, reprint, Howard Fertig, 1970), p. 136; Paul J. Bailey, *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes Towards Popular Education in Early Twentieth-century China* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), p. 152; John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), p. 184.
106 Chao, "The Trend of Modern Chinese Music", p. 275.
107 Ing, "Music Chronicle", p. 59.

Mei-pa [Zhao Meibo] (of the National Conservatory of Music in Shanghai), "with much success."[108] Like the Communists, the KMT also paid close attention to the use of "national forms." In the 1930s, they investigated folk songs and dramas, encouraged creative work and did their best to eliminate what they regarded "cheap and vulgar" music.[109] They also manipulated *tanci*, a form of storytelling, to encourage "good citizenship and Spartan conduct."[110] In the National Spiritual Mobilisation Movement, launched in March 1939, mass singing was again used as a means to rally people behind the government. Committees and organisations devoted to national music were also set up during the War of Resistance to seek out and pass judgment on the suitability and effectiveness of moral tunes for civilian and military use.[111]

The Nationalist attention to music as a political tool can also be seen in the training programmes they sponsored. After the fall of Nanjing in December 1937, the KMT government founded a number of musical organisations in Chongqing in a bid to use music to lift national morale.[112] In order to train music personnel willing to serve in the nationalist army, the KMT government set up a training centre for music cadres within its Central Training Corps. With many of the graduates of the Shanghai National Conservatory of Music working as instructors, this training centre was later turned into a fully-fledged music conservatory, headed at one time by none other than the KMT functionary Chen Lifu 陈立夫 (1899-2001), China's war-time minister of education.[113]

The Communists' and Nationalists' fixation with the practical utility and the social and political functions of music can perhaps be best illustrated by the attacks they levelled at a new type of modern Chinese popular songs known as "*shidai qu*" 时代曲 ("modern songs"). Created mainly by Li Jinhui 黎锦晖 (1891-1967), modern Chinese popular songs were "hybrids of jazz, Hollywood film songs and Broadway musicals, modern Chinese school songs, and popular urban ballads of the entertainment quarters."[114] These types of songs and musicals came into being in the late 1920s, and were soon in vogue in Shanghai and other urban centres. The swift diffusion of this type of entertainment music among the Chinese middle class so

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[108] Fu Pei-mei, "Music Chronicle", *T'ien Hsia Monthly*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1939), pp. 258-259.
[109] Ing, "Music Chronicle", p. 59.
[110] Carlton Benson, "The Manipulation of Tanci in Radio Shanghai During the 1930s", *Republican China*, Vol. 20, No. 2 (1995), p. 136.
[111] Wang, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue shi*, pp. 295-300.
[112] Xu Shijia, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue shigang*, p. 438.
[113] Wang, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyueshi*, pp. 295-96, 298.
[114] Wong, "The Music of China", p. 70.

incensed Communist- and Nationalist-inclined musicians and music critics, that both groups advocated its total elimination. Leading the charge were some of the most authoritative figures of the musical establishment, such as Cheng Maoyun and Xiao Youmei. On the Communist Left, the campaign to stamp out the "decadent sounds" of Li Jinhui was spearheaded by Nie Er 聂耳 (1912-1935), the composer and revolutionary, and He Luding 贺绿汀 (1903-1999), the future president of the Shanghai Conservatory of Music. Their attacks were not so much motivated by an aversion to the music *per se*, as by a deep-seated contempt that Li Jinhui was not a Western-trained composer and his use of "bad forms of Western music," namely jazz music, was bad for the public morality.[115] Instead of improving the quality of the nation's citizens, Li's songs, they argued, would "guide people down the road of debauchery and passivity," enhance the hedonistic tendency of the Chinese middle class, degrade the nation's culture, and ultimately hinder the cause of nationalistic rejuvenation.[116]

The Communists and Nationalists were, of course, not the only groups who saw the potency of music. The renowned Christian warlord Feng Yüxiang 冯玉祥 (1882-1948), for example, used songs for a variety of purposes. Not only did he make frequent use of singing to inspire good behaviour and inculcate patriotism in his men, he also wrote songs to teach military methods. As early as 1912, Feng taught his troops so sing "songs dealing with proper behaviour in battle, the techniques and principles of firing a rifle, and tactical uses of terrain during a battle." Feng also used songs as a means to maintain discipline. Early in 1913, when Feng's battalion was stationed in Beijing, songs were written to discourage riotous behaviour. On those infrequent occasions when the men were allowed on the streets, they had to sing such songs as *We Must Not Drink or Smoke*, or *We Must Not Gamble or Visit Whores*. After Feng's conversion to Christianity, he introduced choral singing as part of his programme to uplift the morals of his men, "rolling out 'Onward Christian Soldiers', 'Stand Up, Stand Up for Jesus', or the National Anthem." In addition to singing religious hymns and patriotic songs daily, Feng's "soldiers also performed plays with themes encouraging resistance to Japan."[117] By making extensive use of music, Feng clearly demonstrated his affinity with the missionaries, Chinese reformers,

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[115] Luo Ting [He Luding], "Guanyu Li Jinhui" ("About Li Jinhui"), *Yinyue jiaoyu* (*Music Education*), Vol. 3, No. 2 (1935), pp. 32-34.

[116] Ping, "Guanyu jin bo 'Taohua jiang' deng gequ de ji ju hua" ("A Few Words on the Ban on Broadcasting 'Peach Blossom River' and Other Songs"), cited and translated in Jones, *Yellow Music*, p. 118. For coverage of the nationalist and communist attacks on Li Jinhui, see Jones, *Yellow Music*, pp. 112-19.

[117] All quotations above are from James E. Sheridan, *Chinese Warlord: The Career of Feng Yü-hsiang* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 87-88.

Nationalists, and Communists, in the conviction that the primary value of music rested with its practical use, rather than with its aesthetic appeal.

Music and National Salvation

> Like a dash of cold water in the face, the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931 awakened the whole country. Patriotic songs by the hundreds seemed to have been written overnight and they were sung not only in schoolrooms, but also in streets, villages, teahouses, and theatres during intermission. .... Not very long ago, the Chinese people thought that singing in public gatherings was either childish or undignified. The new war songs, however, brought a new understanding of group-singing; they became a real stimulation of patriotism in their expression of youthfulness and cooperation. Governmental officials actually opened their mouths in singing the National Anthem in meetings, and old people gradually caught on to the spirit and joy of singing with their grand children at home. China became group-singing conscious.[118]

> Literally, the country is “mad about music.” Everywhere one goes, one will hear people singing war songs with such enthusiasm that only a year or two ago no one would ever dream of. From the street-vendors in the cities to the peasant boys in the country, they all sing with one determined voice the songs of war. They seem to have forgotten all which they learnt in their cradle, the songs of old China; they take to new war songs so quickly! While educated Chinese still cling to their old poetry, and smart young sons of the Republic to the words of the latest jazz music, the masses of China are singing new war songs all over the country.[119]

These are the words of Pao-ch’en Lee [Li Baochen 李抱忱, 1907-1979], the music director of the missionary Yuyin Middle School and a major organiser of the mass singing movement; and Fu Pei-mei [Fu Baimei 傅白梅], a music chronicler. Indeed, the crisis of 1931 marked such a turning point in the history of new music in China that musicians took leave of the discourse on musical modernisation and “threw themselves into

[118] Pao-ch’en Lee, “Music in New China”, *The Etude*, Vol. 63, No. 8 (August 1945), p. 474.
[119] Fu Pei-mei, “Music Chronicle”, p. 256.

composing patriotic songs and military marches," resulting in "an unprecedented politicisation of musical production and activity."[120]

Among the leftist musicians who took an active part in the patriotic mass singing movement, Nie Er stood out as the most influential. Apart from the *March of the Volunteers*, which was to be adopted as China's national anthem after 1949, his other songs, such as the *Song of the Road*, and the *Vanguards*, were also "soon on the lips of those who only a short while previously had been singing the songs by Li Ching-hui [Li Jinhui]."[121] Nie Er's example was quickly followed by Zhang Shu 张曙 (1909-1938), Ren Guang 任光 (1900-1941), Mai Xin 麦新 (1914-1947), and other leftist composers.[122]

The leftist composers were not the only ones who used their musical expertise to serve the War of Resistance. After the Japanese occupation of Manchuria in 1931, Huang Zi became one of the first music professors in Shanghai to compose simple and morale-lifting songs. His popular patriotic songs, such as the *Song of National Salvation* and the *Song of the National Flag,* were as widely sung as those composed by Nie Er. Inspired by Huang's example, Huang's students, especially his four favourites (He Luding, Chen Tianhe 陈田鹤, Jiang Dingxian 江定仙 and Liu Xuean 刘雪庵) all took an active part in the war effort.[123] Huang's colleague, Li Weining 李维宁 (a composer of note trained in Europe), also created songs aimed at conveying the ideas of nationalism and social justice.[124]

Once again, Chinese Christians and graduates of Christian mission schools and colleges played a crucial part in the rise of this mass singing movement, as evidenced by the work of Liu Liangmo 刘良模. On 22 February 1935, Liu, a mission school graduate and then a secretary on the staff of the National Y.M.C.A., took the lead in establishing in Shanghai the earliest mass singing society, the *Minzhong geyong hui* 民众歌咏会 (Singing Society of the Masses), the society had the slogan "National salvation through community singing." In fact, Liu's role was so important that, according to a contemporary source, it was Liu who "aroused the people to the value and joy of group singing throughout China by training hundreds of leaders who are enthusiastically pushing the movement."[125]

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120 Jones, *Yellow Music*, p. 44.
121 Fu Pei-mei, "Music Chronicle", p. 257.
122 Wang, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyueshi*, pp. 235-40.
123 Ibid., pp. 209-16.
124 Fu Pei-mei, "Music Chronicle", p. 258.
125 Frank B. Lenz, "He Taught China to Sing", *Christian Herald* (October 1942), pp. 30-31. For another contemporary report of Liu Liangmo and the mass singing movement, see Lin Yutang, "Singing Patriots of China", *Asia*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (February 1941), pp. 70-72.

Leftist composers such as Mai Xin, Xian Xinghai, and Meng Bo 孟波 were certainly influenced by Liu. After all, it was through taking part in the activities organised by Liu's Singing Society of the Masses that they first experienced the power and impact of mass singing in mobilising the public.[126]

Liu Liangmo was not the only Christian involved in the mass singing movement. The above-mentioned Pao-ch'en Lee was another leader with a Christian connection who took an active part in the movement. Lee and his Yuying School "boys' glee club toured the south in 1934, giving a series of patriotic concerts." In 1935, Lee organised "a Peip'ing [Beiping] fourteen-school-joint-chorus of nearly a thousand voices, giving an open air concert in front of the Palace of Supreme Harmony in the picturesque Forbidden City." In 1936, Lee was again involved in the three-day choral festival given by the Yenching University Chorus, the National Conservatory Chorus of Shanghai, and the Nanjing Songsters, in the newly built People's Assembly Hall in Nanjing "at the request of the National Government."[127]

Conclusion

There is nothing new about music being used to serve social, political and ideological goals. Music as a means of edification, personal cultivation and political governance has occupied an important place in Chinese cultural life from the earliest recorded times.[128] Nor did the treatment of music as a practical tool begin with the May Fourth generation. As demonstrated above, it was the instrumentality of music that motivated the missionaries to introduce Western music to China in the first place. Similarly, the realisation that Western music could be used as an effective means to advance their reform ideology was precisely the rationale behind Chinese reformers' promotion of Western marching songs in the late 1890s and the early 1900s. This preoccupation with the practical uses of music did not diminish after the founding of the Chinese Republic. On the contrary, the emphasis on the instrumentality of music was such that the 1920s and 1930s saw the intensification of a long process of using music as an instrument of social and political persuasion; culminating in Mao Zedong's insistence that art

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[126] Xue Shijia, *Zhongguo jinxiandai yinyue shigang*, pp. 184-85.
[127] Pao-ch'en Lee, "Music in New China", p. 474.
[128] Chinese classics abound in references to music, and almost all of the major thinkers of early China remarked on the significance of music. For samples of such passages, see Walter Kaufmann, *Musical References in the Chinese Classics* (Detroit: Information Coordinators, 1976). For a brief description of music in the services of socio-political ideals in ancient China, see Alan Thrasher, "The Role of Music in Chinese Culture", *World of Music*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (1985), p. 5.

serve politics and the masses in his famous "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art", in 1942. Given this kind of stress, it is not at all surprising that, in post-1949 China, these concerns have been repeatedly cited by the mainland authorities as reasons to launch a series of campaigns aimed at stopping the spread of bourgeois influences in China.[129] To cite three recent examples, in the early 1980s, pop songs of Taiwan and Canto Pop from Hong Kong were officially attacked, not because they were musically deficient, but because they supposedly undermined, rather than reinforced, the ideological hegemony of the state. Similarly, the suppression of rock music and musicians, as represented by Cui Jian 崔健 and a small group of "underground" rock and jazz musicians in the mid-1980s, and the official diatribes denouncing the musical experiments of the "New Tide" (*xinchao* 新潮) composers a few years later, were both motivated by precisely the same political considerations.[130]

It must be pointed out, however, that the issues explored in this paper are far from being resolved. Nor have the themes discussed here ceased to interest scholars of modern Chinese music. Debates in China and elsewhere have shown that assessing and reflecting on the impact of Western music on the formation of a new, and now dominant, musical tradition in China has been a major focus of scholarly attention since the mid 1980s. The tension created by differences over the importance and desirability of Western music continues to be a significant theme of modern Chinese music history. The interest in the social and political uses and significance of music by Chinese music historians, composers, performers, musicologists, theorists and policy makers, and the party bureaucrats in charge of music is unlikely to diminish.[131]

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[129] For a discussion of various campaigns launched by the Communist authorities to suppress Western bourgeois influences after 1949, see Ming Yan, *Ershi shiji Zhongguo yinyue piping daolun* (*An Introduction to Musical Criticism in Twentieth Century China*) (Beijing: Renmin yinyue chubanshe, 2002), pp. 221-502.

[130] For a useful introductory study of indigenous popular music in the cultural and political arenas of mainland China, see Andrew F. Jones, *Like a Knife: Ideology and Genre in Contemporary Chinese Popular Music* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992). For an ambitious, but not well-argued, study of politics and "New Tide" composers, see Barbara Mittler, *Dangerous Tunes: The Politics of Chinese Music in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the People's Republic of China since 1949* (Wiesbanden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1997).

[131] Apart from numerous journal articles, debates of this nature are mainly recorded in the proceedings of the seven seminars on the development of new music held in Hong Kong between 1984 and 1993. For recent discussions on the impact of Western music on China's new musical tradition, see Liu Jingzhi ed., *Zhongguo xin yinyue shi lunji*: *Huigu yu fansi 1885-1985* (*History of New Music in China: A Critical Review 1885-1985*) (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 1992); Liu Jingzhi and Wu Ganbo eds., *Zhongguo xin yinyue shi lunji: Guoyue sixiang* (*History of New Music in China: The Development of Chinese Music*) (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 1994).